

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 ANKARA 06310 140933Z

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ACTION EUR-12

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C O N F I D E N T I A L ANKARA 6310

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, MASS, TU, GR, US

SUBJ: VIEWS OF SENATOR INAN ON U.S.-TURKEY-GREECE RELATIONS

REF: ANKARA 5943

1. I HAD A DISCOURAGING TALK AUGUST 11 WITH SENATOR KAMRAN INAN, THE CHAIRMAN OF THE TURK SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE, WHO HAD RECENTLY RETURNED TO ANKARA AFTER AN EXTENDED EFFORT IN WASHINGTON TO CONVINCE THE CONGRESS TO REVERSE ITS EMBARGO LEGISLATION. I FOUND INAN IN AN EVEN MORE NEGATIVE AND BELLIGERENT MOOD THAN INDICATED BY PREVIOUS EMBASSY REPORTING. HE HAD CONVINCED HIMSELF THAT THE US CONGRESS HAD REACHED THE POINT WHERE IT HAD NO REAL UNDERSTANDING OF FREE WORLD SECURITY NEEDS AND THAT BECAUSE OF ITS IRRESPONSIBLE ATTITUDES, NATO COULD NO LONGER BE COUNTED ON TO FUNCTION EFFECTIVELY.

2. IT WAS NOT JUST THE CONGRESS WHOSE IRRESPONSIBILITY HE DESCRIBED IN SUCH BLACK AND WHITE TERMS. THE ISRAELI LOBBY, HE ASSERTED, HAD TRIED TO PLAY ON BOTH SIDES OF THE ISSUE DESPITE THE FACT THAT ISRAEL WOULD SURELY PAY A GRAVE PRICE IN THE AFTERMATH OF A WEAKENING OF AMERICAN POWER IN THE MEDITERRANEAN. HE

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PAGE 02 ANKARA 06310 140933Z

ALSO COMMENTED BITTERLY THAT MEN LIKE GEORGE BALL, CY VANCE AND

ADMIRAL ZUMWALT HAD HELPED PRODUCE THE HOUSE RESULT ON JULY 24  
AND THESE WERE NOT GREEN CONGRESSMENT BUT EXPERIENCED AMERICAN  
FIGURES WHO KNEW THE REAL SITUATION IN THIS PART OF THE WORLD. IT AL  
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ADDED UP, SAID INAN, TO THE FACT THAT AMERICA COULD NO LONGER BE  
TRUSTED AND THIS WAS THE MESSAGE THAT HAD CARRIED TO PRESIDENT  
KORUTURK, PRIMIN DEMIERL, FONMIN CAGLAYANGIL AND TO OTHER LEADERS  
OF BOTH MAJOR PARTIES. HE SAID IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT THIS LATTER VIEW  
NOT NOW SIMPLY BE PUT FORWARD BY THE EXTREME LEFT AND EXTREME RIGHT  
AND HE WAS ORGANIZING A SEMINAR FOR MODERATES TO DISCUSS THIS  
SUBJECT LATER THIS MONTH.

3. INAN'S SECOND MAIN THEME WAS THAT THE CURRENT CONGRESSIONAL  
STANCE IS IN THE END LIKELY TO PRECIPITATE A GREEK-TURKISH WAR IN THE  
AEGEAN. HIS REASONING WAS THAT THE GREEKS ARE GETTING "CRAZY",  
BOTH WITH RESPECT TO THEIR CONFIDENCE AND THEIR AMBITIONS. HE SEES  
A SINISTER GREEK-BULGARIAN ALLIANCE AGAINST TURKEY, AND HE ARGUED  
THAT AT THE MOMENT, AS THE EMBARGO BRINGS TURKISH AIR STRENGTH  
DOWN BELOW THAT OF THE GREEKS, THE LATTER MAY WELL "TAKE AN  
INSANE ACTION" IN THE AEGEAN. HE ADDED THAT IF THE TURK LEADERSHIP  
BECOMES CONVINCED THAT THIS A SERIOUS POSSIBILITY, A TURK PRE-  
EMPTIVE STRIKE TO SETTLE THE PROBLEM BEFORE THE GREEKS HAD A  
CHANCE TO START IT COULD NOT ALL BE RULED OUT. THUS IF CONGRESS  
RETAINED THE EMBARGO (AS HE EXPECTS IT WILL) HE THOUGHT IT ESSENTIAL  
THAT THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH PUT THE SAME LICENSE RESTRICTIONS ON  
GREECE THAT PRESENTLY APPLY TO TURKEY. WITHOUT THIS PARALLEL  
APPROACH, HE GLOOMILY PREDICTED, A GREEK-TURK WAR IN THE AEGEAN  
WAS LIKELY.

4. COMMENT: INAN IS A MAN WHOSE MANY YEARS OF DEFENDING THE  
AMERICAN-TURKISH ALLIANCE AND TURKISH-AMERICAN COOPERATION IN  
NATO LEAVE HIM FEELING PARTICULARLY LET DOWN BY THE AMERICAN ROLE  
IN THE PAST SIX MONTHS. IN ADDITION, HIS BEING ON HAND TO HEAR THE  
VITUPERATION LEVELED AT TURKEY IN RECENT CONGRESSIONAL DEBATES HAS  
ALSO LEFT ITS MARK. KNOWN TO HAVE A CAPABILITY FOR OVERSTATEMENT,  
HE NEVERTHELESS IS A FIGURE WITH SOME IMPACT HERE AND HIS DEFECTION  
AND DISENCHANTMENT ARE NOT GOING TO BE HELPFUL TO US.

5. WITH RESPECT TO THE AEGEAN, WHILE I DO NOT ACCEPT SOME OF  
INAN'S MORE FLAMBOYANT REASONING, I, TOO, HAVE BEEN TROUBLED FOR  
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PAGE 03 ANKARA 06310 140933Z

SOME TIME OVER THE POSSIBILITY THAT A SUSTAINED EMBARGO COULD  
EVENTUALLY PRODUCE AN AEGEAN CONFRONTATION, PARTICULARLY AS  
TURKEY NEARS THE POINT WHERE ITS SUPERIORITY IN THE AIR IS  
THREATENED. FORTUNATELY, HOWEVER, A PRESENT WEIGHING OF THE  
RELEVANT INDICATORS DOES NOT SUGGEST THIS TO BE AN IMMEDIATE  
PROBLEM. IN FACT, SINCE THE CARMANALIS-DEMIREL MEETING THE  
AEGEAN SITUATION HAS BEEN SIGNIFICANTLY CALMER THAN IT WAS  
EARLIER THIS SPRING.

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